# A STUDY OF ADDRESS PATTERNS:

## SPANISH INFORMAL AND FORMAL FORMS *TÚ* AND *USTED*

## L2 LEARNERS' DIFFICULTIES IN THE INTERPRETATION OF SPANISH ADDRESS FORMS

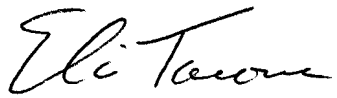
A PLAN B PROJECT
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
BY

KAREN MARIE GOSSELIN

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS IN SECOND LANGUAGE STUDIES

MARCH 2011

Accepted as a Plan B Project:



Project Supervisor

March 11, 2011
Date

**Abstract**

Sociolinguistic rules governing choice of pronouns of address are notoriously difficult in Spanish, despite the fact that the number of variants is rather limited: the more formal *Usted* versus the more informal *tú*. Children with Spanish as their first language learn to use these pronouns of address appropriately as part of their socialization process. The learning curve is much steeper for instructed learners of Spanish. A considerable body of research confirms that native speakers' selection of pronouns of address is not only determined by grammatical rules, but more importantly, by multiple contextual factors: the identity of the speaker and the listener in the dialogue, the relation and sociocultural level between the interlocutors, age, gender, nationality, the context of the communication, formal or informal, and the linguistic message.

This study reported here is modeled upon the sociolinguistic surveys of native Spanish speakers carved out by Lambert and Tucker (1976). However, I was interested in administering their survey to L2 learners of Spanish, specifically Beginning learners who most likely have spent little to no time in a Latin American culture. Where do L2 learners fit in the continuum of native speakers' use of tú and Usted? This paper examines the acquisition of Spanish proper pronominal address forms and the Spanish politeness system by focusing on the effects of situational variables on the self-reported use of pronouns of address in non-native Spanish speakers. Data on self-reported pronoun use in different situations were collected from 21 participants through a written questionnaire.

## Table of Contents

## Introduction

In modern day Spanish, one of the simplest and most basic forms of communicative competence involves the selection of the proper pronominal form *tú* or *Usted*. L2 learners of Spanish may be aware that *tú* and *Usted* mark the relative status of each addressee and that a formal context requires *Usted*. They may also be aware that symmetrical and asymmetrical form uses are possible, symmetrical being the sending and receiving of the same form, while asymmetrical is the sending of one form while receiving the other. The selection of *tú* and *Usted* and the semantic and social significance of the choice are not, however, determined by linguistic criteria alone. The selection of pronouns of address is determined by multiple contextual factors: the identity of the speaker and the listener in the dialogue, the relationship level between the interlocutors, age, gender, nationality, the context of the communication, formal or informal, and the linguistic message. Consequently, it is important that L2 learners understand these contexts. The purpose of this paper is to present my findings regarding how early L2 learners of Spanish would use *tú* and *Usted* given different interlocutors and how their responses would fit into the continuum of native speakers' use of *tú* and *Usted*.

## Literature Review

### Power and Solidarity

Probably the most influential early study of pronominal address forms and the social relationships they reveal is that of Brown and Gilman (1960). Brown and Gilman investigated the semantic rules governing pronominal pronouns in 20 Indo-European languages. These studies were explicitly comparative, using an analysis of data from a variety of historical and contemporary sources including long conversations with native speakers. Since Brown and Gilman, there have been few studies which juxtapose two or more systems of personal address in order to compare and contrast them. However, many researchers have been able to build on Brown and Gilman's study to document the way address systems function within many languages.[1]

Brown and Gilman (1960) proposed several hypotheses about the nature, functions and meanings of personal address systems. One particular hypothesis is that the relative use of *tú* versus *Usted* forms is a correlate of a society's political ideology. As primary evidence for the usage of the past they drew on plays, on legal proceedings and on letters, and were able to offer a general description of the semantic evolution of the pronouns of address. According to these authors, speech communities tended to establish and maintain their vertical and horizontal social relationships through the assignment of semantic codes to the pronouns of address. In this way, power and subordination, as well as solidarity, familiarity and intimacy could be determined by the choice of pronouns (Brown & Gilman, 1960).

*Power* is the control persons exercise or can exercise over others. Brown and Gilman described this relationship as non-reciprocal, as two people could not have power over each other. In these interactions the superior said *tú* and received *Usted*. The *Usted* of reverence originally entered European speech as a form of address to the principal power of the state. This eventually generalized to the powers within the society – the nuclear family. In the history of language, the parents were ruling figures. An individual's first experience of subordination is in his relationship with his parents. This asymmetrical power relation spilled over to norms of address between other sets of interlocutors. Finally, the sociological variables that drove the appearance of *power* in communicative relations were differences in social and economic status, physical strength, wealth, age, gender or distinct roles represented in hierarchal institutions such as the State, the Army, the Church or the family.

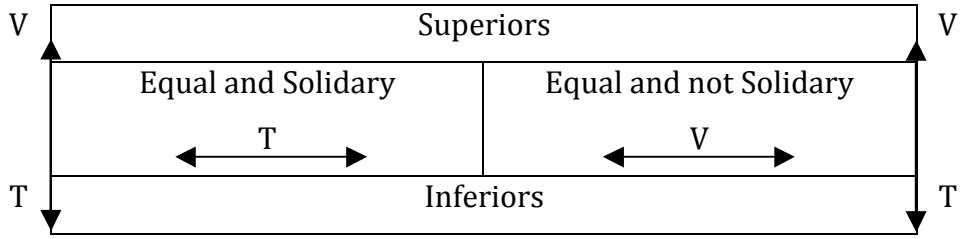
At the opposite end to the relations imposed by *power*, a second semantic dimension appeared; that of *solidarity*. *Solidarity* implied a sharing between people, a degree of closeness and intimacy. According to Brown and Gilman's studies (1960), the similarities that seemed to matter were those that made for "like-mindedness or similar behavior dispositions" (p. 160). This relationship was inherently symmetrical or reciprocal; if you are close to someone else, in the most natural state of affairs, that person is close to you. Thus the corresponding norms of address should be symmetrical, with *Usted* becoming more probable as solidarity declines.

The solidarity semantic originally came into play when it did not interfere with the power semantic, in other words as a means of differentiating address among power equals. Brown and Gilman illustrated this shift to a two-dimensional schematic as seen in Table 1.

This could be used as an instructional diagram for a second-language speaker trying to decide which pronoun to use when addressing another individual. When determining pronoun selection, the speaker determines *power* relations first. If the speaker is more powerful, he gives *tú* but expects to receive *Usted*. If the two people are equally powerful then the speaker must decide if he and the other person are solidary. If so, they exchange *tú*; if not, they exchange *Usted*.

Table 1 – Two-dimensional semantic in equilibrium

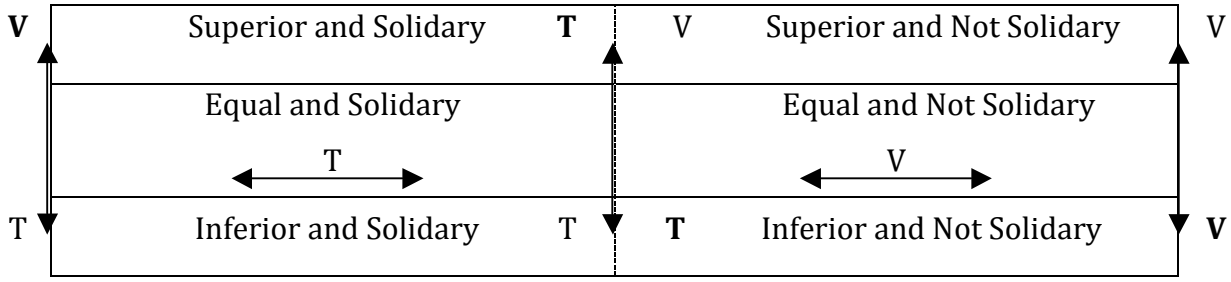
Source: Brown and Gilman (1960, p 161, figure 1a)




However, Brown and Gilman went on to explain how *power* and *solidarity* can conflict with each other. Power superiors may be solidary (husband, wife; parents, adult child) or not solidary (officials from different political parties); power inferiors may also be solidary (coworkers) or not solidary (waiter in a strange restaurant). Thus extension of the solidarity dimension creates six categories of persons, as illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2 – Two-dimensional semantic under tension

Source Brown and Gilman (1960, p 161, figure 1b)




However, rules of address come into conflict in the upper left and lower right quadrants. The addressee characterized by the upper left quadrant is superior, and thus should receive *Usted* by the *power* semantic, but is also solidary, so should receive *tú* by the solidarity semantic. For the lower right, power indicates *tú* and solidarity *Usted*. In each case, usage in one direction is clear but, in the other direction it is opposed. Examples of these social dyads can be found in Table 3.

Table 3 – Social Dyads Involving Semantic Conflicts

Source Brown and Gilman (1960, p 162, figure 2)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Customer | Officer | Employer |
| T↓V ↑V | T↓V ↑V | T↓V ↑V |
| Waiter | Soldier | Employee |
| | | |
| Parent | Master | Elder Brother |
| ↓T T↑V | ↓T T↑V | ↓T T↑V |
| Son | Faithful Servant | Younger Brother |

Into the nineteenth century the power semantic triumphed and the servants, children and employees were called *tú* while masters, parents and employers were called *Usted*. However, what Brown and Gilman discovered was that in the recent century the solidarity semantic had gained dominance. Dyads that were once in conflict now reciprocate the pronoun of solidarity or of nonsolidarity. The result is a simple one-dimensional system with the reciprocal *tú* for solidarity and the reciprocal *Usted* for the nonsolidary.

The best evidence Brown and Gilman had for this shift was from their interviews and questionnaires with students from abroad residing in Boston. Their participants were mainly from France, Germany and Italy, with a few informants from Spain, Argentina, Chile, Denmark, Norway and other European countries. Their questionnaire consisted of 28 items which asked about pronoun usage between the subject and various interlocutors ranging from immediate and extended family members, to classmates and finally to other members of society, such as waiters, bank clerks, employers, and military personnel. The six dyads represented in Table 3 were represented in the questionnaire. In the past these encounters would have been responded with the non-reciprocal power form. In all six dyads, only 11% of the French participants responded with the non-reciprocal power answer, as did 12% of the Germans and 27% of the Italians. In all other cases a reciprocal usage was chosen. Brown and Gilman recognized this modern direction of change in pronoun usage from formal to informal. The authors suggested that this change expressed "a will to extend the solidarity ethic to everyone" (p. 182). According to Brown and Gilman, this reciprocal use of informal second-person pronoun was a result of high solidarity or intimacy. Whenever *solidarity* appeared, the same pronoun could be used by both interlocutors.

**Sociocultural Correlations of *Tú* and *Usted* in Spanish**

**Argentina, Peru and Puerto Rico.**

Solé (1970) applied the theory of Brown and Gilman in a sociocultural study which examined and compared the socio-linguistic interaction on the use and distribution of pronominal forms in three Spanish speaking societies: Argentina, Peru, and Puerto Rico. She assumed that the more fluent a society, the more egalitarian it is, the more reciprocity there is in the exercise of power, and its population will be more solidary. On the other hand, in a more static society, where the exercise of power is less reciprocal, as in traditional societies, the solidarity within the population will be more tenuous and the non-reciprocal treatment of *tú*/*Usted* will appear. She therefore picked three prevailing societies: a modern society, an aristocracy in transition and an agricultural society recently urbanized and industrialized. Solé's research modeled after Brown and Gilman's surveys while comparing Spanish-speaking countries from the same linguistic background but different economic and social development.

Solé's participants, 80 from each country, were chosen based on the following criteria: originally from Buenos Aires, Lima and San Juan, between 25 and 35 years of age, parents native of those cities, and of university level education or equivalent. Differences in pronoun use between countries were interpreted according to their socio-cultural particulars in order to highlight the kinds and degrees of existing variation.

Solé found that attitudes towards the non-reciprocal *tú/Usted* (*vos* in Argentina) varied considerably between these countries. Considering the extension of *tú* in Puerto Rico, and the ease with which the fluctuations occurred between *tú* and *Usted*, there was no clear separation between the two forms, because the social differences did not exist to the

same extent. Also the level of intimacy associated with *tú* was not the same as found in Peru, because relationships were less formalized and the social levels were less pronounced. The use of non-reciprocal *tú/Usted* en Puerto Rico, rather than responding to hierarchical differences was based on age differences.

On the other hand, Solé found the use of non-reciprocal *tú/Usted* in Peru was tied to the differences between social levels and the inequality resulting from this. While the non-reciprocal *tú/Usted* use symbolized these socio-economic differences of the population, Solé noted that it was a striking contrast with the ideology of the individuals interviewed who, while admitting to the frequency of its use, were uncomfortable with the stately aspects it denoted in being incompatible with the rest of the world today.

According to Solé, in Argentina, the institutional modernization as well as the cultural modernization had caused the disappearance of the non-reciprocal *tú/Usted* use. When it did occur, such as responding to the case of paternalism and benevolence, its use was not passively received. Solé added that its use was more likely part of the old upper classes, where it maintains an ideological asynchrony with respect to the modernization of the country.

**Puerto Rico and Colombia.**

Lambert and Tucker (1976) used a survey methodology, modeled on Brown and Gilman's surveys, in Puerto Rico and Colombia to see whether Spanish address forms could be affected by the social structures of the community. The surveys asked about a range of interpersonal encounters (episodes) from the perspective of young people. Their questionnaires were administered in Spanish by native Spanish speakers within the school settings of the participants. Given a situation (say with a waitress), participants were asked

to indicate what address form they use in that particular situation and what address form they actually receive. Lambert and Tucker analyzed their data as a function of their respondents' age (one group pre-adolescent, the other adolescent) and sex (male vs. female), as well socio-economic status (high, middle, low) and setting (urban vs. rural) for the Puerto Rican respondents, and religious background (Catholic vs. Jewish) for the Colombian respondents. They found a lack of pervasive address norms in Puerto Rico, with home setting emerging as the major factor determining differences in patterns of interpersonal contacts. For example, the address patterns for *friends' parents* follow two distinct contrasting modes with the majority having reciprocal *Usted* relationships while a sizable minority has non-reciprocal *Usted/tú* relationships. However, the rural respondents have relatively more non-reciprocal *Usted/tú* contacts than their urban counterparts. While home setting stood out as a factor determining differences in Puerto Rico, Lambert and Tucker found that boys and girls adopted major contrasting styles of interaction based on the Colombian study. For example, the norm which appears to govern interaction with *cousins*, *visitors*, *strangers*, or *classmates* seems to be the reciprocal *Usted* among males, but not with females. The reciprocal *tú* is associated more with females. Religious background had much less effect on the style of address than had the sex.

Brown and Gilman's research was concerned with the semantic evolution of pronouns of address between certain European languages as well as semantic differences existing in more current day use among pronouns of French, German and Italian. Brown and Gilman's V-T theory has been very influential, in part due to the fact that its binary system is a convenient easy-to-grasp concept. Primary evidence for the usage of the past and their sociolinguistic survey on present usage have enabled them to draw several

important conclusions about those trends. Propositions like that of Brown and Gilman are extremely valuable focal points. As noted earlier, many researchers, among them Lambert and Tucker, and Solé, owe great debt to these authors. Both Lambert and Tucker and Solé built on Brown and Gilman's theory and practice going one step further in comparing and contrasting languages of the same linguistic background. Their research has demonstrated that pronominal form use by native speakers of Spanish can be considerably complicated by multi-social realities and the existence of pluralistic sociocultural patterns, due to historical and contemporary influences. Their work gives a great deal of attention to cross-national and cross-cultural comparisons of address patterns and the structures of the social systems represented.

**Acquisition of *Tú* and *Usted* by Second Language Learners**

How can such a complex system of pronominal use be acquired by learners of Spanish as a second or foreign language? The complexities of the system, particularly across nations, are daunting. Perhaps this is why so little has been published on the acquisition of *tú* and *Usted* by second-language learners. Only a few dissertation studies exist.

González-Lloret (2008) wrote her dissertation on the development of L2 address systems in fifth semester university level Spanish language learners. Through Conversation Analysis (CA), she analyzed synchronous computer-mediated communications (SCMC) between L1 speakers of Spanish and L2 Spanish learners to discover what type of address behavior was shown, and documented changes in their pragmalinguistic resources and patterns of interaction. Her participants consisted of 15 Spanish language learners from a US University and several University and adult language school English language learners

from two different cities in Spain. Using Yahoo! Messenger, the students worked in groups of three to four (two US students of Spanish and one or two Spaniards) in either a project-based task or a free-conversation task. By analyzing longitudinally every student's interaction it was possible for González-Lloret to see their development of the Spanish address system. She found that those students who exhibited variation between the formal and informal address forms at the onset of the study, but continued interaction throughout the entire study with L1 speakers, developed their use of the Spanish address system to a level similar to the L1 speakers. However, students who engaged in fewer than four chats continued to exhibit variation, more use of the formal address form, throughout the project. Her data also suggested that students developed their address system when they focused explicitly on it, receiving explicit feedback from the L1 speakers. Finally González suggested, based on the results of the study, that a synchronous computer-mediated tool could be a productive environment for the development of L2 pragmatic competence, in this case the use of the L2 address system.

Due to an incredible amount of variation across the Spanish-speaking world, we find that the acquisition of address forms has to be place specific. C. Klee (personal correspondence, November 16, 2010) explains that students can learn some general rules in the classroom but then have to act as anthropologists once they arrive on site to figure out what is appropriate for that context. However, this too can be confusing for them when they meet someone who is from a place that does not follow the same rules.

Gonzalez-Lloret's study suggests that pragmatic development in the L2 classroom resides in the possibility that learners engage with other speakers of the language, including L1 speakers. However, given the constraints of discourse (and perhaps

technology) in a foreign language classroom, this development may come very slowly to some learners. More than one and a half million students were enrolled in language courses (excluding Latin and Ancient Greek) in US Institutions of Higher Education in 2006 (Furman, Goldberg & Lusin, 2007). With fifty four percent of those students enrolled in Spanish, it is worth exploring what patterns of *tú* and *Usted* use early learners of Spanish L2 are acquiring.

**Research Questions**

The general research questions underlying this study are:

1) What patterns of *tú* and *Usted* use (expected given and received *tú* and *Usted* use) are reported as preferred by second semester Spanish L2 learners with respect to social distance of addressee?

With respect to this question, two sub-questions will be addressed:

2a) Does the L2 learner's gender seem to affect the patterns described in RQ1?

2b) Does the urban or rural background of the L2 learner seem to affect the patterns described in RQ1?

## Methodology

The study reported here is modeled upon the sociolinguistic survey of native speakers (NS) of Spanish carried out by Lambert and Tucker (1976). However, I was interested in administering their survey to L2 learners of Spanish, specifically Beginning learners, who most likely have spent little to no time in a Latin American culture. Where do L2 learners fit in the continuum of native speakers' use of *tú* and *Usted*? In the acquisition of pronominal forms in Spanish, the L2 learners' task involves the acquisition of the associated pragmatic meaning in order to select the appropriate form. The problem is not so much an issue of isolated forms and/or isolated meanings. L2 learners need to make a pragmatic selection taking into account the social structures they believe exist within a community. They need to establish a social link between themselves and their interlocutor. English and Spanish present differences regarding address patterns as far as pronoun selection and verb conjugation go. Given the absence of a one-to-one correlation, problems may reside in the complexity of the social mapping. This study attempts to shed light on English speakers' perspective on the use of *tú* and *Usted*.

### Participants

This survey investigated 21 adult native English speaking students taking an Advanced Beginning Spanish course at a major mid-western University. All students were placed in this continued Beginning Spanish level course based on their high school language experience and/or a placement test. This course is for students who have completed one semester of Beginning Spanish at the same university. Table 4 provides information about participants, which was collected at the time of the survey (see

Appendix 1 for the complete survey). The age of the participants ranged from 19 years of age to 34, with an average age of 22.5. There were 12 males and 9 females of whom 15 reported coming from an urban home setting while 6 came from a rural setting. One participant recorded Bengali[2] as his native language (though he claimed that he learned English at a very young age) while another claimed both English and German[3] as her native languages.

Table 4 – Respondent's Profiles

| Subject | Age | Male | Female | Home Setting | | Native Language(s) | Semesters Studying Spanish |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Urban | Rural | | |
| 1 | 26 | + | | + | | English | 2 semesters |
| 2 | 20 | + | | | + | English | 2 semesters |
| 3 | 22 | | + | + | | English/German | 2 semesters |
| 4 | | | + | + | | | 2 semesters |
| 5 | 20 | + | | | + | English | 2 semesters |
| 6 | 19 | + | | | + | English | 6 semesters |
| 7 | | + | | | + | | 4 semesters |
| 8 | 19 | | + | | + | English | 2 semesters |
| 9 | 26 | + | | + | | English | 2 semesters |
| 10 | 22 | + | | + | | Bengali/English | 2 semesters |
| 11 | 21 | + | | + | | English | 2 semesters |
| 12 | 21 | | + | + | | English | 3 semesters |
| 13 | 24 | | + | + | | English | 2 semesters |
| 14 | 34 | + | | + | | English | 6 semesters |
| 15 | 21 | | + | + | | English | 2 semesters |
| 16 | 26 | + | | | + | English | 2 semesters |
| 17 | 22 | + | | + | | English | 2 semesters |
| 18 | 21 | | + | + | | English | 4 semesters |
| 19 | 21 | | + | + | | English | 8 semesters |
| 20 | | | + | + | | | 4 semesters |
| 21 | 20 | + | | + | | English | 2 semesters |
| **Total / Average** | **22.5** | **12** | **9** | **15** | **6** | **English** | **3 semesters** |

## Data Collection

### Instrument.

As discussed earlier, a written questionnaire modeled after the sociolinguistic surveys of Lambert and Tucker was prepared. The original questionnaire was condensed in order to accommodate the time allowed to administer the survey and relevancy of the material. Lambert and Tucker's original questionnaire consisted of 49 interacts, of which I utilized 36 of these interpersonal episodes. I tried to keep the relation of the interact as relevant as possible for the participants, so relations such as *second cousin, younger, male* or *religious brother or sister* or *Mother Superior* or *Rabbi of School* were left out.

The following text served as an introduction to the questionnaire:

> *The most basic and simplest act of communicative competence in Spanish involves the appropriate selection of the address forms* Tú *and* Usted*. While the misuse of* Tú *versus* Usted *may be inconsequential in the classroom, in true interactions it may have considerable social repercussions.*
>
> *For each situation below select the address pattern you would USE and would EXPECT TO RECEIVE when speaking with each of the individuals identified. Circle one response in each column.*

Table 5 provides an example of the survey questions and format. See Appendix 1 for the complete survey.

Table 5 – Sample of Survey

| Interactant | Which pronoun would you use in speaking to … | Which pronoun would he/she use in speaking to you |
|---|---|---|
| Grandmother | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| Grandfather | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| Mother | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| Father | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| Maid | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| Bank teller | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| Taxi driver | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| Waitress/Waiter | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| Your boss | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| Your Professor | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| Doctor | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| Stranger on the street, female | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| Stranger on the street, male | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |

**Procedures for Data Collection.**

Beginning Spanish level learners were selected after consultation with educational authorities, including the course instructor. The questionnaire was administered during a regular 50 minute classroom period by me, at the time a graduate student in an Introduction to Linguistic Anthropology course at the same university. The Spanish

instructor was supportive of me using classroom time and felt the activity fit well with her style of instruction as well as subject matters included in her curriculum. Approximately 10 minutes were allowed at the beginning of the class to explain the purpose of the questionnaire, collect consent forms (see Appendix 2) and provide directions. The participants were instructed to complete the questionnaire within 30 minutes. The last 10 minutes were used to collect the surveys, answer questions and gather oral feedback from the participants. The participants felt that this was a worthwhile activity and that it gave them the opportunity to think about how they would actually use these forms in spontaneous discourse.

**Data Analysis**

All questionnaires returned to me were used. However, the number of responses for each interaction varied because some participants did not respond to every item. This may be because an interaction was irrelevant for some students (e.g., if they had no grandfather or grandmother). In this case, I included their incomplete responses in the final data but for comparisons their responses were recorded as null.

Master tables were compiled and checked. Responses were expressions of patterns of *tú* and *Usted* use (expected given and received *tú* and *Usted*) for each episode. The responses were grouped into the following four address patterns: 1) reciprocal *tú*; 2) non reciprocal *tú*/*Usted* sending *tú* and expecting *Usted* in return; 3) non reciprocal *Usted*/*tú* sending *Usted* and expecting *tú* in return; and 4) reciprocal *Usted*.

Time and sample size did not lend themselves to quantitative analysis of the data. Descriptive tables were used to look for possible trends in the data. Selected comparisons (frequency of usage) were made for differences in address patterns related to two

subgroups of participants. Comparisons of special interest were: 1) variations in patterns attributable to gender, for which patterns of men and women were compared; and 2) variations attributable to differences in background, for which patterns of urban and rural participants were compared. Although I make comparisons between urban and rural samples, I realize that the small number in the rural sample would, at best, only provide suggestive trends that would call for further confirmation.

The 36 episodes were categorized into *Immediate and Extended Family*, *Acquaintances Outside of the Family* and *Unacquainted Interlocutors*. The three categories (see Table 6) will be addressed in the discussions that follow:

Table 6 – Categories of Interacts

| **Immediate and Extended Family** | **Acquaintances Outside of the Family** | **Unacquainted Interlocutors (in a Range of Societal Roles)** |
|---|---|---|
| Grandmother | Older friend, female | Maid |
| Grandfather | Younger friend, female | Any child |
| Mother | Older friend, male | Bank teller |
| Father | Younger friend, female | Taxi driver |
| Sibling, older | Parents of friends | Waitress / waiter |
| Sibling, younger | Class mate, female | Your boss |
| Your own child | Class mate, male | Your professor |
| Aunt | Co-worker, older | Doctor |
| Uncle | Co-worker, younger | Stranger on the street, older, female |
| Cousin, older | Co-worker, same age | Stranger on the street, younger, female |
| Cousin, younger | | Stranger on the street, older, male |
| Cousin, same age | | Stranger on the street, younger, male |
| Sister-in-law | | |
| Brother-in-law | | |

## Results

### Research Question 1

*What patterns of* tú *and* Usted *use (expected given and received* tú *and* Usted *use) are preferred by second semester Spanish L2 learners with respect to social distance of addressee?*

Overall the participants appeared to prefer to use the reciprocal *tú* address pattern more than the other three patterns (see Table 7). The data contained 756 responses selecting pronouns of address (36 episodes x 21 participants). As the focus of the research is on interpersonal variation, the proportion of instances of each dyadic address pattern was calculated. Data show that the reciprocal *tú* form appeared in 58.3% (SD= 6.47) of the dyads. The large standard deviation suggests that the data are not normally distributed. The next preferred form of address use for the group as a whole was reciprocal *Usted*, used in 18.9% of the episodes.

Table 7 – Group Use of Address Patterns – Participants' Self-Reported Pronoun Use

| | T/T | T/U | U/T | U/U | NR | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| # of Tokens | 441/756 | 35/756 | 134/756 | 143/756 | 3/756 | 756/756 |
| Percentage | 58.3% | 4.6% | 17.7% | 18.9% | 0.4% | 100% |

Note: NR = No Response

The norms that appeared to govern interaction across social categories, however, revealed something entirely different (see Table 8). For both genders and urban/rural settings, reciprocal *tú* appeared to be the norm for interactions with interlocutors within the *Immediate and Extended Family* category, with non-reciprocal *Usted*/ *tú* being a minor alternative. Similarly, with interlocutors within the *Acquaintances Outside the Family*

category the reciprocal *tú* pattern appeared to be the general norm, although slightly higher than what was found in the first category. However, the reciprocal *Usted* pattern seemed to emerge as a minor alternative. On the other hand, there was less consensus about interaction with addressees who bear little or no relation with the participant. For example, while reciprocal *Usted* seemed to be preferred within the *Unacquainted Interlocutors* category, it didn't appear to reach the level of consensus that reciprocal *tú* did in the other two categories. Reciprocal *tú* and non-reciprocal *Usted*/ *tú* seemed to function as minor alternatives. For example, while 92.1% of the participants, regardless of gender or background, indicated that they would use *Usted* when speaking with their boss, professor or doctor, only 41.3% would expect *Usted* in return (reciprocal *Usted*) while the other 50.8% would expect *tú* in return (non-reciprocal *Usted/tú*). The distribution of address patterns when interacting with a maid appeared to be almost random. However, a reciprocal *tú* or reciprocal *Usted* pattern seemed to be preferred over the non-reciprocal patterns (38.1% and 28.6% vs. 19.0% and 9.5% respectively). Appendix 3 provides a detailed summary of Preferred Address Patterns for all 36 episodes.

Table 8 – Variations in Reported Associations across Social Categories

| | Immediate and Extended Family | Acquaintances Outside the Family | Unacquainted Interlocutors |
|---|---|---|---|
| T/T | 209/294 (71.1%) | 169/210 (80.5%) | 63/252 (25.0%) |
| T/U | 8/294 (2.7%) | 0/210 (0.0%) | 27/252 (10.7%) |
| U/T | 66/294 (22.4%) | 19/210 (9.0%) | 49/252 (19.4%) |
| U/U | 9/294 (3.1%) | 22/210 (10.5%) | 112/252 (44.4%) |
| NR | 2/294 (0.7%) | 0/210 (0.0%) | 1/252 (0.4%) |
| **TOTAL** | **294/294 (100%)** | **210/210 (100%)** | **252/252 (100.0%)** |

**Research Question 2a**

*Does the L2 learner's gender seem to affect the patterns described in RQ1?*

**Immediate and Extended Family.**

As a whole, the preferred pattern of address between *Immediate and Extended Family* members and participants by gender appeared to be the reciprocal *tú* where the young person would send *tú* and expect the family member to send *tú* in return. The data for this category contained 294 responses selecting pronouns of address [(14 episodes x 12 males) + (14 episodes x 9 females)]. However, there appeared to be some gender differences depending on the relationship of the interlocutors. For example, of the nine female participants, seven (77.8%) indicated they would choose the reciprocal *tú* address form with either of their parents, while only seven of the twelve male participants (58.3%) would use this form. The five remaining males (41.7%) indicated they would expect the

non-reciprocal *Usted*/*tú* address form with their parents while only two of the females (22.2%) had this expectation. A small number of females (2 out of 9) and males (4 out of 12) indicated that they would have a non-reciprocal *tú*/*Usted* association with their own children. Approximately thirty-three percent of the female participants (3 out of 9) would establish a reciprocal *Usted* with their brother- or sister-in-law, while only 1 of the males (8.3%) indicated this use, and then with just his sister-in-law. All 12 males indicated they would use reciprocal *tú* with their siblings, cousins and brother-in-law, while there was only one family member where all nine females said they would use this form (cousin, same age). See Appendix 4, Table 16 for Comparison Data by Gender for *Immediate and Extended Family*.

The non-reciprocal *Usted*/*tú* effect of both males and females suggests that there are at least two preferred styles of interpersonal contact between the participants and family members (see Table 9).

Table 9 – Comparison Data by Gender for Immediate and Extended Family

| | Immediate and Extended Family | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Male Responses | Female Responses | Total Responses |
| T/T | 123/168 (73.2%) | 86/126 (68.3%) | 209/294 (71.1%) |
| T/U | 4/168 (2.4%) | 4/126 (3.2%) | 8/294 (2.7%) |
| U/T | 38/168 (22.6%) | 28/126 (22.2%) | 66/294 (22.4%) |
| U/U | 3/168 (1.8%) | 6/126 (4.8%) | 9/294 (3.1%) |
| NR | 0/168 (0.0%) | 2/126 (1.6%) | 2/294 (0.7%) |
| **TOTAL** | **168/168 (100%)** | **126/126 (100%)** | **294/294 (100%)** |

**Acquaintances Outside of the Family.**

The data for this category contained 210 responses selecting pronouns of address [(10 episodes x 12 males) + (10 episodes x 9 females)]. Similar gender differences in the learner reports were found on how they would address and be addressed with *Acquaintances Outside of the Family*. For example, although most of the participants again would utilize the reciprocal *tú* form of address in most of these relations, 66.7% of females (6 out of 9) and 75.0% of males (9 out of 12) would establish the non-reciprocal *Usted/tú* address form with parents of their friends. The reciprocal *Usted* form again appeared more frequent among female participants, as 33.3% of the women (3 out of 9) would prefer this form when interacting with co-workers younger than themselves and 44.4% (4 out of 9) with co-workers older than them. None of the male or female participants would choose to use the non-reciprocal *tú*/*Usted* exchange, sending *tú* and expecting *Usted*, in any of the episodes with *Acquaintances Outside of the Family* (see Table 10). See Appendix 4, Table 17 for Comparison Data by Gender for *Acquaintances Outside of the Family*.

Table 10 – Comparison Data by Gender for Acquaintances Outside the Family

| | Acquaintances Outside the Family | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Male Responses | Female Responses | Total Responses |
| T/T | 102/120 (85.0%) | 67/90 (74.4%) | 169/210 (80.5%) |
| T/U | 0/120 (0.0%) | 0/90 (0.0%) | 0/210 (0.0%) |
| U/T | 11/120 (9.2%) | 8/90 (8.9%) | 19/210 (9.0%) |
| U/U | 7/120 (5.8%) | 15/90 (16.7%) | 22/210 (10.5%) |
| NR | 0/120 (0.0%) | 0/90 (0.0%) | 0/210 (0.0%) |
| **TOTAL** | **120/120 (100%)** | **90/90 (100%)** | **210/210 (100%)** |

**Unacquainted Interlocutors.**

When it is a question of interaction with non-related, less-acquainted, socially different interlocutors, the forms of address by gender appear to be more distributed, with a prominence in the reciprocal *Usted* pattern among females (see Table 11). The data for this category contained 252 responses selecting pronouns of address [(12 episodes x 12 males) + (12 episodes x 9 females)]. The reciprocal *Usted* address pattern was the preferred use in this category among the nine females, representing 63.9% of these interactions. The exception is found with interaction with a child, where the preferred pattern for females interacting with a child is reciprocal *tú* (5 out of 9 or 55.6%). A similar pattern holds for males. Half of the male participants (6 out of 12 or 50.0%) would also prefer the reciprocal *tú* relation with children with the non-reciprocal *tú/Usted* as a close alternative (5 out of 12 or 41.7%). We still encounter a slight preference for the reciprocal

*tú* among males across these categories, except when interacting with strangers, where reciprocal *Usted* would be established, or when interacting with bosses, professors or doctors, where the males would strongly expect the non-reciprocal *Usted/tú* exchange. See Appendix 4, Table 18 for a complete Comparison Data by Gender for *Unacquainted Interlocutors*.

Table 11 – Comparison Data by Gender for Unacquainted Interlocutors

| | Unacquainted Interlocutors | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Males Responses | Females Responses | Total Responses |
| T/T | 41/144 (28.5%) | 22/108 (20.4%) | 63/252 (25.0%) |
| T/U | 18/144 (12.5%) | 9/108 (8.3%) | 27/252 (10.7%) |
| U/T | 41/144 (28.5%) | 8/108 (7.4%) | 49/252 (19.4%) |
| U/U | 43/144 (29.9%) | 69/108 (63.9%) | 112/252 (44.4%) |
| NR | 1/144 (0.7%) | 0/108 (0.0%) | 1/252 (0.4%) |
| **TOTAL** | **144/144 (100%)** | **108/108 (100%)** | **252/252 (100%)** |

**Research Question 2b**

*Does the urban or rural background of the L2 learner seem to affect the patterns described in RQ1?*

**Immediate and Extended Family.**

The response patterns of *tú* and *Usted* use also seemed to be influenced in certain areas by the urban vs. rural background of the learners. Overall the participants would establish the reciprocal *tú* address pattern with the non-reciprocal *Usted/tú* being a distant

alternative (see table 12). Background differences appeared depending on the relationship of the interlocutors. Urban participants established the reciprocal *tú* pattern more often than the rural participants. While the predominant pattern of address between *Immediate and Extended Family* members and participants is the reciprocal *tú* among both rural and urban participants, four out of six of the rural participants (66.7%) would establish the non-reciprocal *Usted*/*tú* address form with their grandparents and parents while five out of six (83.3%) would establish the same form with their aunt or uncle. These numbers appear to be lower among the 15 urban participants, with 53.3% (8 out of 15) establishing *Usted/tú* with their grandparents, 20.0% (3 out of 15) with their parents and 46.7% (7 out of 15) with their aunts or uncles. In addition, four out of six (66.7%) of the rural participants said they would expect the non-reciprocal *tú*/*Usted* form in interactions with their own children, sending *tú* and expecting *Usted* in return, while only 13.3% of urban participants (2 out of 15) would establish this pattern with their children. All six rural participants indicated they would prefer the reciprocal *tú* form with siblings, cousins and brother-in-laws, while there was only one family member where all 15 urban participants said they would use this form (cousin, same age). See Appendix 5, Table 19 for a detailed summary of Address Patterns by Urban/Rural Setting for *Immediate and Extended Family*.

Table 12 – Comparison Data by Urban/Rural Setting for Immediate and Extended Family

| | Immediate and Extended Family | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Urban Responses | Rural Responses | Total Responses |
| T/T | 158/210 (75.2%) | 51/84 (60.7%) | 209/294 (71.1%) |
| T/U | 4/210 (1.9%) | 4/84 (4.8%) | 8/294 (2.7%) |
| U/T | 40/210 (19.0%) | 26/84 (31.0%) | 66/294 (22.4%) |
| U/U | 6/210 (2.9%) | 3/84 (3.6%) | 9/294 (3.1%) |
| NR | 2/210 (1.0%) | 0/84 (0.0%) | 2/294 (0.7%) |
| **TOTAL** | **210/210 (100%)** | **84/84 (100%)** | **294/294 (100%)** |

**Acquaintances Outside of the Family.**

Overall participants would establish the reciprocal *tú* with *Acquaintances Outside of the Family*, with the reciprocal *Usted* being a distant alternative for the urban participants and the non-reciprocal *Usted/tú* for the rural participants. Urban/rural differences in address patterns occur in the pattern of non-reciprocal *Usted/tú* when interacting with parents of friends. Five out of six rural participants (83.3%) would prefer this pattern, while only ten out of 15 urban participants (66.7%) would use it. No participants indicated they would use the non-reciprocal *tú*/*Usted* address pattern in any of these relations (see Table 13). See Appendix 5, Table 20 for a detailed summary of Address Patterns by Urban/Rural Setting for *Acquaintances Outside of the Family*.

Table 13 – Comparison Data by Urban/Rural Setting for Acquaintances Outside of the Family

| | Acquaintances Outside of the Family | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Urban Responses | Rural Responses | Total Responses |
| T/T | 120/150 (80.0%) | 49/60 (81.7%) | 169/210 (80.5%) |
| T/U | 0/180 (0.0%) | 0/60 (0.0%) | 0/210 (0.0%) |
| U/T | 10/150 (6.7%) | 9/60 (15.0%) | 19/210 (9.0%) |
| U/U | 20/150 (13.3%) | 2/60 (3.3%) | 22/210 (10.5%) |
| NR | 0/150 (0.0%) | 0/60 (0.0%) | 0/210 (0.0%) |
| **TOTAL** | **150/150 (100%)** | **60/60 (100%)** | **210/210 (100%)** |

**Unacquainted Interlocutors.**

The forms of address selected for use with *Unacquainted Interlocutors* were variable for both urban and the rural participants. Selection of address form is distributed across all four patterns with a preference for the reciprocal *Usted* exchange (see Table 14). The individual proportion of use of reciprocal *Usted* was 46.7% for urban participants and 39.9% for rural participants.

Rural participants indicated they would expect reciprocal *Usted* more often with older strangers than with younger strangers, while never expecting the reciprocal *tú* with these interlocutors. However, some of the urban participants would use reciprocal *tú* in these instances. While the majority of the urban participants would prefer a reciprocal *Usted* exchange when speaking with service personnel (bank teller 60%, taxi driver 53.3%,

or waitress 60%), the form of address indicated by rural participants in these categories appears to be more randomly distributed with many choosing the reciprocal patterns over the non-reciprocal patterns. See Appendix 5, Table 21 for a detailed summary of Address Patterns by Urban/Rural Setting for *Unacquainted Interlocutors*.

Table 14 – Comparison Data by Urban/Rural Setting for Unacquainted Interlocutors

| | Unacquainted Interlocutors | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Urban Responses | Rural Responses | Total Responses |
| T/T | 49/180 (27.2%) | 14/72 (19.4%) | 63/252 (25.0%) |
| T/U | 16/180 (8.9%) | 11/72 (15.3%) | 27/252 (10.7%) |
| U/T | 31/180 (17.2%) | 18/72 (25.0%) | 49/252 (19.4%) |
| U/U | 84/180 (46.7%) | 28/72 (38.9%) | 112/252 (44.4%) |
| NR | 0/180 (0.0%) | 1/72 (1.4%) | 1/252 (0.4%) |
| **TOTAL** | **180/180 (100%)** | **72/72 (100%)** | **252/252 (100%)** |

## Discussion

For these English learners of Spanish the reciprocal *tú* address pattern is dominant in most interactions; this held regardless of gender or rural/urban background. Why might this be? First, this dominant pattern may well be the result of L2 learning or L2 communication strategies. One reason L2 learners of Spanish might respond more often with the reciprocal *tú* address pattern is because in English there is only one second person singular pronoun, *you*. When *tú* is taught as the informal or familiar form, learners may consider it as the 'friendly' form and equate it with all informal interactions. As a result, such learners may use it in relation to most interlocutors, because, as Americans, we tend to prefer relationships on a more egalitarian level. Another possibility is that the reciprocal *tú* response may also be the result of what some linguists refer to as the *transfer-of-training* (Selinker 1972). This would explain the over-use of reciprocal *tú* by this study's participants, as this address pattern is more widely used in Beginning level instruction than any of the other forms. Finally, the dominant use of the reciprocal *tú* address pattern may also be the result of a learning strategy of *simplification*. This L2 learning strategy is the tendency on the part of the learner to reduce the target language to a simpler system. Early learners may resist the effort to incorporate some of the fine distinctions that native speakers make because they discover they can be easily understood without them or they find their speech to be slow and hesitating if they attempt to produce them exactly.

Although there was a tendency in this group of learners to prefer the reciprocal *tú*, there was also awareness that varying forms of address are required depending on the social situation and the relationship between the interlocutors. The emergence in the data of the reciprocal *Usted* and the non-reciprocal *Usted/tú* address patterns with

*Unacquainted Interlocutors* illustrates these learners' awareness of the need for a more formal interaction within these other relationships.

Throughout the following discussion, we must remember that the results of this study of second-language learners must be considered with caution. The number of respondents was very small. Also, they provided written responses to an elicitation task, instead of responses one would find in spontaneous oral discourse. In addition, the data are drawn from only one kind of task and are thus limited in scope (Tarone, 1984).

The data will be compared to that collected through the surveys completed by Lambert and Tucker (1976) in their cross-national comparisons of address patterns found in Puerto Rico and Colombia. As described at the beginning of this paper, Spanish has an extremely variable and complex system of address etiquette. Acquiring this system can be tremendously tedious and cumbersome for non-native Spanish learners, especially learners coming from a system which doesn't distinguish between familiar and formal pronominal pronouns.

These beginning learners demonstrated an awareness of the esteemed role the Spanish culture as a whole holds for older family members. For contact with grandparents, aunts and uncles the most prominent form of address reported by the participants was non-reciprocal *Usted/tú*, although reciprocal *tú* appeared as a minor alternative. Of course, research by Lambert & Tucker showed that these patterns are not entirely consistent with those used by native Spanish speakers in different geographical regions, For example, the majority of native Spanish speaking boys and girls in Colombia establish reciprocal *tú* relationships with their grandparents and their aunts and uncles where in Puerto Rico you find more often the non-reciprocal *Usted/tú*. In order for Spanish L2 learners to know

about these different patterns, further emphasis would need to be placed on the sociocultural differences between Spanish speaking countries.

Not surprisingly, the participants favored the reciprocal *tú* within the family. The reciprocal *tú* is also commonly used when addressing parents in many Spanish speaking countries, but there are differences in the pattern across such countries as Colombia and Puerto Rico; the main alternative is the reciprocal *Usted* in Colombia and the non-reciprocal *Usted/tú* in Puerto Rico. The rural learners of Spanish were closer to the usage of native speakers in Colombia and Puerto Rico in that they used the non-reciprocal *Usted/ tú* more often than the urban learners did. Urban English learners spending significant time in a Latin American culture might be surprised to find that their host parents expect to receive *Usted* when addressed, even if the learner has been accepted into the family unit, while rural English learners might be less surprised.

For interaction with siblings or cousins the general tendency among all of the participants was to form a reciprocal *tú* relationship, as would be the case for most native Spanish speakers. This also tended to be the pattern the learners would use when addressing a brother- or sister-in-law even though in many Spanish cultures the non-reciprocal *Usted/tú* or reciprocal *Usted* associations may be more prevalent here, especially when little contact with in-laws may occur. Again, this may be dependent on the family units as well.

The language learners preferred the use of the reciprocal *tú* pattern for addressing male and female friends. It is interesting to find that the reciprocal *tú* for co-workers also carried over in general. However, the female participants, more than the males, tended to

establish a distance between themselves and their co-workers by implementing the reciprocal *Usted* form. We see a similar trend among urban participants.

In most Spanish speaking countries the interaction with service personnel or of transactional nature is characterized by the more formal reciprocal *Usted* or non-reciprocal *Usted/tú* relationships. In these instances the forms of address indicated by the participants were most randomly distributed among the men, while the women tended to establish a more native-like reciprocal *Usted* pattern. While these L2 learners bring with them their own pragmatic system, further instruction in the classroom needs to focus on the multi-social realities and the existence of pluralistic socio-cultural patterns in order for learners to become competent in these communicative and pragmatic forms.

We find in Lambert and Tucker's surveys that an employer is typically addressed with the reciprocal *Usted* in both Puerto Rico and Colombia. For the participants, the form of address offered in the case of interaction with an employer for the most part was the non-reciprocal *Usted/tú*. However, while a majority of males preferred the non-reciprocal *Usted/tú* with the reciprocal *Usted* being the alternative, the opposite was true for the females, who once again appeared to use more native-like patterns. This difference in expected forms may be attributable to social views in the workplace.

We can see from the surveys of Lambert and Tucker that boys are responded to differently by male and female adults. This is particularly clear in the Colombian classroom. There, while a substantial majority of boys have reciprocal *Usted* contacts with male teachers, girls have both reciprocal *Usted* and non-reciprocal *Usted/tú* contacts, with the male teachers returning the girls *tú*. In Colombia in particular female teachers apparently permit boys to address them with *tú*, which results in a greater portion of reciprocal *tú*

associations between boys and female teachers, in comparison to the non-reciprocal *Usted/tú* contacts between girls and female teachers. The Spanish learner data was quite different in that the majority of the males chose the non-reciprocal *Usted/tú* pattern for interactions with their teachers, while the girls preferred the reciprocal *Usted* the majority of the time, with either reciprocal *tú* or non-reciprocal *Usted/tú* as distant alternatives.

In current Spanish, it is important to select the proper pronominal form *tú* or *Usted*. The linguistic forms follow a rule that is strictly relational. The use is not predictable from properties of the addressee or the speaker alone but from the properties of the dyad (Brown & Ford, 1961). Despite the fact that reciprocal *tú* associations are predominant in our limited data, the learners also had some awareness of the separate communities, each with their own distinctive system of interpersonal association, found in the Spanish culture and reflected in their politeness system. Teaching of pronominal forms should include pragmatics and the sociodemographic characteristics that determine differences in the usage of *Usted*. These factors cannot be deduced. Of course long exposure to the language, beyond the classroom, will be necessary to solidify these concepts, but for most learners the acquisition of knowledge starts in the classroom. Future longitudinal explorations are needed to determine what amount of interaction is needed for learners to develop proficiency in the use of the Spanish address system.

## References


Barron, A. (2006). Learning to say 'you' in German: The acquisition of sociolinguistic competence in a study abroad context. In M.A. DuFon & E. Churchill (Eds.), *Language learners in study abroad contexts*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Bates, E., & Benign, L. (1975). Rules of address in Itali: A sociological survey. *Language in Society, 4*, 271-288.

Bayona P. (2006). Sociolinguistic competences in the use of Colombian pronouns of address. In *Proceedings of the 2006 Canadian Linguistics Association Annual Conference*. Retrieved April 15, 2009 from http://westernlinguistics.ca/Publications/CLA2006/Bayona.pdf.

Belz, J.A., & Kinginger, C. (2003). Discourse options and the development of pragmatic competence by classroom learners of German: The case of address forms. *Language Learning, 53*, 591–647.

Brown, R., & Ford, M. (1961). Address in American English. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 62*, 375-385.

Brown, R., & Gilman, A. (1960). The pronouns of power and solidarity. In C. Bratt Paulston & G.R. Tucker (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics: The essential readings* (pp. 156-163). MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Curcó, C. (1998). ¿No me harías un favorcito?: Reflexiones en torno a la expressión de la cortesía verbal en el español de México y el español penisular [Would you do me a

favor?: Reflections on the expression of politeness in the Spanish of Mexico and Spanish Penísula]. *Diálogos Hispánicos* 22, 129-171.

Fant, L. (1996). Regulación conversacional en la negociación: Una comparación entre pautas Mexicanas y peninsulares [Conversational regulation in negotiations: A comparison between Mexican and Peninsular guidelines]. In T. Kitchi, W. Oesterricher & K. Zimmermann (Eds.), *El español hablado y la cultura oral en España e Hispanoamerica* (pp. 147-183). Vervuert: Iberoamericana.

Farghal, M., & Shakir, A. (1994). Kin terms and titles of address as relational honorifics in Jordanian Arabic. *Anthropological Linguistics, 36*, 240-253.

Fitch, K. (1991). The interplay of linguistic universals and cultural knowledge in personal address: Colombian madre terms*. Communication Monographs, 58*, 254-272.

Furman, N., Goldberg, D., & Lusin, N. (2007). *Enrollments in languages other than English in United States institutions of higher education, Fall 2006*. The Modern Language Association of America. Web Publication, 13 November 2007. Retrieved November 18, 2010 from http://www.mla.org/pdf/06enrollmentsurvey_final.pdf.

Garcia, C. (2003). Estudio comparativo del discurso oral de puranos y venezolanos, reprendiendo y respondiendo a una reprimenda: poder y solidaridad [Comparative study of oral discourse of Peruvians and Venezuelan, reprimanding and responding to a reprimand: power and solidarity]. In D. Bravo (Ed.), *ACTAS del primer coloquio del programa EDICE* (pp. 257-297). Stockholm: Stockholm University.

Garcia, C. (2007). Establishing and maintaining solidarity: A case study of Argentinean invitations. In M.E. Placencia & C. Garcia (Eds.), *Research on politeness in the Spanish-speaking world* (pp. 261-301). Silver Spring, MD: Erlbaum.

González-Lloret, M. (2008). No me llames de usted, trátame de tú: L2 address behavior development through synchronous computer-mediated communication (Doctoral dissertation, University of Hawai'i, 2008).

Lambert, W.E., & Tucker, G.R. (1976). *Tu, vous, usted: A social-psychological study of address patterns*. Newbury House: Rowley, MA.

Márquez-Reiter, R.M., & Placencia, M.E. (Eds.). (2004). *Current trends in the pragmatics of Spanish.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Mehrotra, R.R. (1977). Fluidity in kinship terms of address in Hindi. *Anthropological Linguistics, 19*, 123-132.

Misra, K.S. (1977). *Terms of address and second person pronominal usage in Hindi: A sociolinguistic study.* New Delhi, India: Bahri Publications.

Montes Giraldo, J.J. (1967). Sobre el voseo en Colombia [About voseo in Columbia]. *Thesaurus, 22*, 21-44.

Placencia, M.E. (2005). Pragmatic variation in corner store interactions in Quito and Madrid. *Hispania, 88*, 583-598

Puga Larraín, J. (1997). *La atenuación en el castellano de Chile: un enfoque pragma-lingüístico [The attenuation in Castilian Chile: a pragma-linguistic approach].* Estudios Iberoamericanos. Universitat de Valencia: Tirant Lo Blanch Libros.

Ringer Uber, D. (1985). The dual function of usted: Forms of address in Bogotá, Colombia. *Hispania, 68*, 388-392.

Selinker, L. (1972). Interlanguage. *International Review of Applied Linguistics, 10*, 201-231.

Slobin, D.I. (1963). Some aspects of the use of pronouns of address in Yiddish*. Word, 19*, 193-202.

Solé, Y.R. (1970). Correlaciones socioculturales del uso de tu/vos y usted en la Argentina, Peru y Puerto Rico [Sociocultural correlates of the use of tu/vos and usted in Argentina, Peru and Puerto Rico]. *Thesaurus, Boletin del Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 25*, 161-195.

Solé, Y.R. (1976). Social determinants of symmetrical and asymmetrical address forms in Spanish. *Hispania*, *61*, 940-949

Takao, S. (1976). Language and behaviour in Japan: The conceptualisation of personal relation. *Japan Quarterly, 23*, 255-266.

Tarone, E. (1983). On the variability of interlanguage systems. *Applied Linguistics, 4*, 142-163.

Tosi, A. (2001). *Language and society in a changing Italy*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters

Winchatz, M.R. (2001). Social meanings in German interactions: An ethnographic analysis of the second-person pronoun Sie. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 34*, 337-369.

## Appendix 1: Complete Survey

The most basic and simplest act of communicative competence in Spanish involves the appropriate selection of the address forms ***Tú*** and ***Usted***. While the misuse of ***Tú*** versus ***Usted*** may be inconsequential in the classroom, in true interactions it may have considerable social repercussions.

For each situation below select the address pattern you would **USE** and would **EXPECT TO RECEIVE** when speaking with each of the individuals identified. Circle one response in <u>each</u> column.

| **Interactant** | **Which pronoun would you use in speaking to …** | **Which pronoun would he/she use in speaking to you** |
|---|---|---|
| *Grandmother* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Grandfather* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Mother* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Father* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Sibling, older* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Sibling, younger* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Your own children* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Aunt* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Uncle* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Cousin, older* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Cousin, younger* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Cousin, same age* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Sister-in-law* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Brother-in-law* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Older friend, female* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |

| Interactant | Which pronoun would you use in speaking to … | Which pronoun would he/she use in speaking to you |
|---|---|---|
| *Younger friend, female* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Older friend, male* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Younger friend, male* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Parents of friends* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Class mate, female* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Class mate, male* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Co-worker, older* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Co-worker, younger* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Co-worker, same age* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Maid* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Any child* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Bank teller* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Taxi driver* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Waitress/Waiter* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Your boss* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Your Professor* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Doctor* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Stranger on the street, older, female* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Stranger on the street, younger, female* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Stranger on the street, older, male* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |
| *Stranger on the street, younger, male* | Tú / Usted | Tú / Usted |

**INFORMATION ABOUT RESPONDENT**

Age: Gender: ❑ Male ❑ Female

Native Language : Community of Origin: ❑ Urban ❑ Rural

How long have you studied Spanish?

How comfortable are you with using the formal form *Usted*?

- ❑ Unsure when to really use it
- ❑ Somewhat comfortable
- ❑ Very comfortable

What Spanish speaking country(s) have you visited?

How long were you in the Spanish speaking country?

How much Spanish did you use while there?

- ❑ Extensive use (conversations with family/friends)
- ❑ Casual contact (restaurants, stores, hotels)
- ❑ None

## Appendix 2: Consent Form

**CONSENT FORM**
**A STUDY OF ADDRESS PATTERNS: SPANISH INFORMAL AND FORMAL FORMS *TÚ* AND *USTED***

You are invited to be in a research study on second-language learning. You were selected as a possible participant because you are learning another language. We ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

This study is being conducted by Karen Gosselin, who is a graduate student at the University of Minnesota taking a course in Linguistic Anthropology.

Background Information:
The purpose of this study is to learn more about the way in which people learn a second or more languages. After you have completed the study, we will tell you the precise focus of this study, and ask you for your insights into your own language learning.

Procedures:
If you agree to be in this study, we will ask you to do the following task: respond to a survey on selecting address patterns in Spanish.

Risks and Benefits of Being in the Study:
This study has no risks to you.

Confidentiality:
The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report we might write or publish, we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify you. Research records will be kept in a locked file; only researchers will have access to the records.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:
You do not have to be in this study. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without affecting those relationships.

Contacts and questions:
The researcher conducting this study is Karen Gosselin. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you may contact her at goss0062@umn.edu. The researcher's advisor on this project is William O. Beeman, 395 Hubert H. Humphrey Center, 301 19th Ave S, (612) 624-2023.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding the study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher, contact Research Subjects' Advocate line, D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware Street S.E., Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455; telephone (612) 625-3400.

Statement of Consent:
I have read the above information. I have asked questions and received answers. I consent to participate in the study.

Signature _____ Date _____

Signature of investigator _____ Date _____

## Appendix 3: Overall Manner of Address

Table 15 – Overall Preferred Manner of Address by Interactant

| | Address Pattern | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Interactant** | **T/T** | **T/U** | **U/T** | **U/U** | **NR** |
| **Immediate and Extended Family** | | | | | |
| Grandmother | 7/21 | 0/21 | 12/21 | 1/21 | 1/21 |
| | (33.3%) | (0.0%) | (57.1%) | (4.8%) | (4.8%) |
| Grandfather | 7/21 | 0/21 | 12/21 | 1/21 | 0/21 |
| | (33.3% | (0.0%) | (57.1%) | (4.8%) | (0.0%) |
| Mother | 14/21 | 0/21 | 7/21 | 0/21 | 0/21 |
| | (66.7%) | (0.0%) | (33.3%) | (0.0%) | (0.0%) |
| Father | 14/21 | 0/21 | 7/21 | 0/21 | 0/21 |
| | (66.7%) | (0.0%) | (33.3%) | (0.0%) | (0.0%) |
| Sibling, older | 20/21 | 0/21 | 1/21 | 0/21 | 0/21 |
| | (95.2%) | (0.0%) | (4.8%) | (0.0%) | (0.0%) |
| Sibling, younger | 20/21 | 1/21 | 0/21 | 0/21 | 0/21 |
| | (95.2%) | (4.8%) | (0.0%) | (0.0%) | (0.0%) |
| Your own children | 15/21 | 6/21 | 0/21 | 0/21 | 0/21 |
| | (71.4%) | (28.6%) | (0.0%) | (0.0%) | (0.0%) |
| Aunt | 9/21 | 0/21 | 12/21 | 0/21 | 0/21 |
| | (42.9%) | (0.0%) | (57.1%) | (0.0%) | (0.0%) |
| Uncle | 9/21 | 0/21 | 12/21 | 0/21 | 0/21 |
| | (42.9%) | (0.0%) | (57.1%) | (0.0%) | (0.0%) |
| Cousin, older | 20/21 | 0/21 | 1/21 | 0/21 | 0/21 |
| | (95.2%) | (0.0%) | (4.8%) | (0.0%) | (0.0%) |

| | Address Pattern | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Interactant** | **T/T** | **T/U** | **U/T** | **U/U** | **NR** |
| Cousin, younger | 20/21 | 1/21 | 0/21 | 0/21 | 0/21 |
| | (95.2%) | (4.8%) | (0.0%) | (0.0%) | (0.0%) |
| Cousin, same age | 21/21 | 0/21 | 0/21 | 0/21 | 0/21 |
| | (100.0%) | (0.0%) | (0.0%) | (0.0%) | (0.0%) |
| Sister-in-law | 16/21 | 0/21 | 1/21 | 4/21 | 0/21 |
| | (76.2%) | (0.0%) | (4.8%) | (19.0%) | (0.0%) |
| Brother-in-law | 17/21 | 0/21 | 1/21 | 3/21 | 0/21 |
| | (81.0% | (0.0%) | (4.8%) | (14.3%) | (0.0%) |
| **Acquaintances Outside the Family** | | | | | |
| Older friend, female | 19/21 | 0/21 | 0/21 | 2/21 | 0/21 |
| | (90.5%) | (0.0%) | (0.0%) | (9.5%) | (0.0%) |
| Younger friend, female | 21/21 | 0/21 | 0/21 | 0/21 | 0/21 |
| | (100.0%) | (0.0%) | (0.0%) | (0.0%) | (0.0%) |
| Older friend, male | 19/21 | 0/21 | 0/21 | 2/21 | 0/21 |
| | (90.5%) | (0.0%) | (0.0%) | (9.5%) | (0.0%) |
| Younger friend, male | 21/21 | 0/21 | 0/21 | 0/21 | 0/21 |
| | (100.0%) | (0.0%) | (0.0%) | (0.0%) | (0.0%) |
| Parents of friends | 3/21 | 0/21 | 15/21 | 3/21 | 0/21 |
| | (14.3%) | (0.0%) | (71.4%) | (14.3%) | (0.0%) |
| Class mate, female | 18/21 | 0/21 | 2/21 | 1/21 | 0/21 |
| | (85.7%) | (0.0%) | (9.5%) | (4.8%) | (0.0%) |
| Class mate, male | 20/21 | 0/21 | 0/21 | 1/21 | 0/21 |
| | (95.2%) | (0.0%) | (0.0%) | (4.8%) | (0.0%) |

| | Address Pattern | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Interactant** | **T/T** | **T/U** | **U/T** | **U/U** | **NR** |
| Co-worker, older | 14/21 | 0/21 | 2/21 | 5/21 | 0/21 |
| | (66.7%) | (0.0%) | (9.5%) | (23.8%) | (0.0%) |
| Co-worker, younger | 16/21 | 0/21 | 0/21 | 5/21 | 0/21 |
| | (76.2%) | (0.0%) | (0.0%) | (23.8%) | (0.0%) |
| Co-worker, same age | 18/21 | 0/21 | 0/21 | 3/21 | 0/21 |
| | (85.7%) | (0.0%) | (0.0%) | (14.3%) | (0.0%) |
| **Unacquainted Interlocutors** | | | | | |
| Maid | 8/21 | 4/21 | 2/21 | 6/21 | 1/21 |
| | (38.1%) | (19.0%) | (9.5%) | (28.6%) | (4.8%) |
| Any child | 11/21 | 8/21 | 0/21 | 2/21 | 0/21 |
| | (52.4%) | (38.1%) | (0.0%) | (9.5%) | (0.0%) |
| Bank teller | 4/21 | 1/21 | 5/21 | 11/21 | 0/21 |
| | (19.0%) | (4.8%) | (23.8%) | (52.4%) | (0.0%) |
| Taxi driver | 8/21 | 3/21 | 1/21 | 9/21 | 0/21 |
| | (38.1%) | (14.3%) | (4.8%) | (42.9%) | (0.0%) |
| Waitress/Waiter | 8/21 | 2/21 | 0/21 | 11/21 | 0/21 |
| | (38.1%) | (9.5%) | (0.0%) | (52.4%) | (0.0%) |
| Your boss | 1/21 | 0/21 | 11/21 | 9/21 | 0/21 |
| | (4.8%) | (0.0%) | (52.4%) | (42.9%) | (0.0%) |
| Your Professor | 2/21 | 0/21 | 12/21 | 7/21 | 0/21 |
| | (9.5%) | (0.0%) | (57.1%) | (33.3%) | (0.0%) |
| Doctor | 2/21 | 0/21 | 9/21 | 10/21 | 0/21 |
| | (9.5%) | (0.0%) | (42.9%) | (47.6%) | (0.0%) |

| | Address Pattern | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Interactant** | **T/T** | **T/U** | **U/T** | **U/U** | **NR** |
| Stranger on the street, older, female | 4/21 (19.0%) | 0/21 (0.0%) | 4/21 (19.0%) | 13/21 (61.9%) | 0/21 (0.0%) |
| Stranger on the street, younger, female | 5/21 (23.8%) | 4/21 (19.0%) | 1/21 (4.8%) | 11/21 (52.4%) | 0/21 (0.0%) |
| Stranger on the street, older, male | 4/21 (19.0%) | 0/21 (0.0%) | 4/21 (19.0%) | 13/21 (61.9%) | 0/21 (0.0%) |
| Stranger on the street, younger, male | 6/21 (28.6%) | 5/21 (23.8%) | 0/21 (0.0%) | 10/21 (47.6%) | 0/21 (0.0%) |
| **TOTAL** | **441/756 (58.3%)** | **35/756 (4.6%)** | **134/756 (17.7%)** | **143/756 (18.9%)** | **3/756 (0.4%)** |